/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity:
he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within
four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled
through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the
cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the
gods. a piglet was slaughtered, a few chickens forfeited their lives;
• [229] the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular
volley of small shot. it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women
sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio

Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the
glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as
refreshment: in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a
plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into
the "curral" /corral, see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were
lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/164 cont./

289 291 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of bark bast, supposedly from the schischi tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 [309] /165/ The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair, if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

• 294 [302] 162 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Claus came with Antonio; a few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

291

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Paulaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood, into one a notch is scraped, while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering. I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit [273] [274] 609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

2; Steinen--1 E, D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/Chapter I-III, pp. 1-45, including Fig. 1 and Plates II and III, are omitted in the translation./

/46/

Chapter IV.

First Encounter with the Indians.

Bark canoes. Traces of Indians. My trip with Antonio and Carlos. Animal life. Reverie before supper. Mouth of the Ponekuru. Cataracts. Signs of colonization increase. Chief Tumayaua. To the first Bakairí village. Arrival of the "Karaiben."

After tapping several times in vain, Antonio found a jatobá (Hymenaea sp.) with serviceable bark. A pole scaffold is erected around the tree; a long rectangular strip of bark is loosened with ax blows and, carefully taken down, is placed on low supports; then the bark is made pliable with heat, a fire being lighted underneath and twigs also set afire on top, and the edges of the longitudinal sides are bent upward. In front a point is formed; in the rear the bark is pushed forward toward the inside to produce a slightly hollowed out bulkhead with acute-angled edges, at which the bark is soon likely to split. The canoe was to be finished in a day and brought to the water the next morning.

Antonio came home from his work noticeably pleased. I believed it was because the canoe had turned out well. I talked to him about it for a while and then, referring once more to our plans, said: "So you are not afraid that the river is without inhabitants?" "No," he replied in diminuendo, "I've already found a rancho." "Why didn't you say so?" "Well, I intended to." In looking for wood for the oars, he had discovered a collapsed hunting-hut covered with palm straw; its posts showed the blunt gash-marks of a stone ax. Beside it lay charred logs still in the radial arrangement of the Indian campfire; adjacent jatobás had been tested with stone axes for their usefulness, a still recognizable path led through the brush to a "harbor" on the river. Antonio thought it was probably a year ago that the visitors had stopped here.

/48 cont./

880 We therefore named our camping place, which we had taken possession of shortly after 4:00, Pouso do Jakaré. Antonio took [394] charge of the unfortunate canoe; he shoved it onto a low framework of forked supports, lighted a fire of brush under it, and bent the front part up as much as possible. he stuffed the crack with rags and smeared it with beeswax. Howling monkeys gave us [136] an evening concert and carried on as dreadfully as though we were supposed to learn how to shudder.

136 137 We were glad to get up early the next morning. we cursed the mosquitoes and set out at 6:30 into the light mist floating over the water. The birds twittered and chirped noisily. a kaitetú pig was swimming across the river in the distance. We rowed as soundlessly as possible between the shores covered with campo vegetation: much tall leafy brush and bamboo thicket, out of which rose the tree of the red ants, the imbauva. A fat Mutum cavallo with black plumage shimmering greenish-blue and a sealing-wax red crest was successfully caught and immediately plucked. Antonio carefully collected the wing and tail feathers, which, split and turned spirally, are set on the end of the arrow shaft, for his fellows on the Paranatinga, so that he would have something to bring them from the journey. A small piece of the meat served as bait when we passed through some rapids with exposed boulders and disturbed the matrinchams, which allegedly sleep there between the stones. The two men threw out their lines and at each throw let them strike enticingly a couple of times; they were snapped at, but unfortunately there were no bites. They shot at a couple of playful arizanhas, large fish otters that surface like seals, spit, disappear quick as lightning, and suddenly appear again somewhere far downstream.

●224 Shortly after midday Antonio observed torn-off branches on the right bank; we disembarked and, on closer investigation, saw that a piece of their game, probably a capybara, had been placed on a bed of twigs and leaves in order to protect the meat from sand while it was being eviscerated. There was neither hut nor evidence of fire. the booty had therefore been taken from this spot to the /P. IV/ upper/ /49/ camping place or even to the village.

[Text Continues on p.6]

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisitively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice 224 [262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought 136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 [342] It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees and flies to Paleho's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched 519 [574] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swinging in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home; and 352 after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much [352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space 353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/220 cont./

The influence on the animal kingdom was strange and remarkable. All beasts of prey very deliberately made use of the occurrence, sought and found their victims, not so much near the blazing fire as on the smoking burned place where many a rodent was probably charred. Numerous falcons hovered over the dark clouds of the "queimada"; wild game hastened to it from far away, to lick the salty ash, and preferred the night, perhaps because it could not hide on the bare expanse. The ground radiated an agreeable warmth.

Hunting by means of fire is found among many primitive peoples. The Schingú Indians no longer seemed to practice it, but in any case it was well known to the Bakaïrí. /221/ and the legend of "Kame in the Mouse" tells us that Keri went hunting with the possessor of fire, the campo fox, and the latter caught "only a burned mouse," inside of which was Keri's brother Kame.

Keri met the campo fox. "Let's make fire in the campo, grandpapa," said Keri. They set out to make fire; it burned all around. Kame was in a mouse. Keri did not know that he had gone inside. The fire burned down and stopped. Keri hunted, did not see a roast. The campo fox found a burned mouse. After he saw it, he ate it. He met Keri: "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I ate only a mouse."

The "queimada," or burned place, furnished many experiences about the usefulness of fire: fleeing animals when the fire began, half-burned animals and fruit, animals that came to it, salty ashes, warmth. Soon the hunter could learn how to roast meat, which, on a smaller scale, took on the significance for him that flour preparation has for the field cultivators. Roasting preserves. After many days roasted meat, which otherwise would long since have become putrid, is still tasty. The Bororó went out hunting for weeks and returned with a rich supply of roasted game; the Aweto were absent for several days on fishing expeditions and brought home a canoe heavily laden with roasted fish; among the Mehinakú we saw baskets filled with very appetizing, golden yellow baked fish. Even today roasting is continued until the meat has a thick charcoal crust -- the burned skin -- with a very popular salty taste.

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aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain misgiving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way, fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mama, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companion were always generously provided with manioc cakes /beijú/. I mention this fact especially, because

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352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415 Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
285 piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
Yams /czrá/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
529 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
hometc, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
624 jacaré tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[82] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tulihi which depended on the
presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
called tulahe.

621 /282/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, puma, assisted by a subchief, ináida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
243 tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
The selection of the ináida was made by means of agreement
of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the puma him-
self. The puma's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
and juridical.

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about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúto feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamúra, topiehe, karoni, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira. Year I. Vol. 4. pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamúra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoni and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called ezeli or eziliu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagaogori, a more fluid element that

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775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is god, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

796 [795] In Nakoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamiira. But the iamiira also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamiira portrayed by these animals. (9)

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

796 796 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamiira, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

796 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre o aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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796 Bakairí: /266/ Kitaimo, Karoui, Iuanagururo, and Topiehe. Kitaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Iuanagururo is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiira, topiehe, iuanagururo, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance of his guardian iamiira with the help of a gourd which he shook in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

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539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

996 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-numa, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

822 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of warm, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /food/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

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placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *pöiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *pöiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *waküna* vine. The *pöiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had scars on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pöiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *ipa*, sweet manioc, *mingi*,

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emini* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kanagóro* flute was made like the *emini* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emini* and the *kanagóro* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kuloiti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *tadówo* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokógoro* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairi used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadáepori* in some of their dances.

533 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to 535 their tunes, the Bacairi had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *orúko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pukwanáko*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawaládo*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mai-alenáko*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poiwanáko*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*wajúlaládo*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairi 529 usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to